

30-29

MINORITY REPORT

OF THE

SELECT COMMITTEE,

ON THE SUBJECT OF THE

CONSOLIDATION OF THE CITY OF PHILADELPHIA,

WITH ENLARGED BOUNDARIES.

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REPORT.

IN THE SENATE OF PENNSYLVANIA, }
Harrisburg, March 6th, 1851. }

Mr. Fernon, from the minority of the Select Committee on the subject, to which was committed bill, entitled "An Act to incorporate the city of Philadelphia with enlarged boundaries," made a report which was read as follows, to wit :

The subject of uniting the several independent corporations which comprise Philadelphia into one consolidated city government, is now pending in the Legislature, for the third time. The county of Philadelphia embraces an area of one hundred and twenty square miles, or seventy-six thousand and eight hundred acres. For municipal, borough, and township purposes, it is divided into one city, seven incorporated districts, seven boroughs, and twelve townships.

The city and incorporated districts, which include the territory where the improvements are compact and the population dense, contain but eight thousand four hundred and sixteen acres, or sixteen and one-eighth square miles ; while the rural portions of the county, including the boroughs, contain sixty-eight thousand three hundred and eighty-four acres, or one hundred and three and seven-eighths square miles.

The county of Philadelphia is a miniature of the Union and of the Commonwealth. And the doctrine of centralization which would spread the power and the laws of one city corporation over its whole surface, if applied to national affairs, would blot out the States from the map of the Union, and the counties from the map of the State. The same policy which has increased the number of the States of the republic from thirteen to thirty-one, and the counties of the Commonwealth from three to sixty-four, has increased the number of local organizations in Philadelphia from one to twenty-seven. It is a principle lying at the foundation of the republican system, to guard against the centralization of power and authority, by a judicious and salutary subdivision of official duty and official jurisdiction. Thus, the Legislative powers granted by the Constitution of the United States are vested in a National Congress, and the legislative powers granted by the constitution of the several States are vested in the State Legislatures ; the executive power of the United States is vested in the President, and the executive power of each State is vested in the Governor. These officers are elected by the people, except in one or two of the States, where the Governor is elected by the Legislature ; and surely no one, who is in sentiment and feeling a friend of free government, would give his consent that the executive and legislative powers thus apportioned, ordained, and established by the patriot founders of the republic, should be centralized and consolidated into one representative body in the city of Washington ? It is the sovereignty of a State that gives it a prestige, and infuses into its elements vitality, dignity and strength. It is the direct and immediate accountability to which the representative is held, that ensures to the constituent wise legislation and just laws. Hence, the great party which has ever been the active guardian and potent defender of civil rights, has at all times resisted those covert measures which would undermine the prerogatives of the States, and eventually reduce them to the condition of mere adjuncts, or departments of the central authority.

In this downward graduation, States would approximate to the level of counties, even as the bill referred to your committee, proposes to lower the incorporated districts of Philadelphia county to the level of wards.

In some respects, the independent municipal sovereignties of Philadelphia, stand in the like relation to each other and to the Commonwealth, as the States of the Union stand to each other, and to the general government.

Their charters were granted by the Legislature, and the stipulations contained in them have been kept in good faith, not only towards each other, but towards the State.

The history of the primitive days of Pennsylvania, is the history of the city and liberties of Philadelphia. The founder of the first, was the originator of the second. One is now a great Commonwealth and the second State in the Union, the other is now a great city and the second emporium in the land. In her progress, the city has kept pace with the State, and in the prosperity of both, the people have been blest. Why then should the Commonwealth at this time undo her own acts, and subject the city and districts of Philadelphia to a sacrifice, which cannot be justified by any consideration of justice, equity, or public good. The friends of consolidation reason upon the theory, that in proportion as the officers engaged to manage public affairs are few in number, so will the cost of government be small in amount. If this were true of municipal governments, it should likewise be true of national and State governments, whereas history and experience alike concur, not only to expose its fallacy and demonstrate its untruth, but also to establish the converse of the proposition in all cases. The municipal system of the city of New York is far more costly and expensive than the municipal system of Philadelphia, still it in nowise affords any greater protection to property, nor security to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." Yet, while this is true, it is not pretended, nor is the comparison meant to convey the impression, that the clock-like code of Philadelphia is not capable of improvement in its working machinery; for no system of government, save that which emanated from the supreme law giver of the Universe, ever realized complete harmony in all its operations.

In 1682, the Provincial Government divided Pennsylvania into three counties.

The town of Philadelphia was laid out in the latter part of 1682, by William Penn, between the rivers "Delaware and Schuylkill, having two fronts on the water, each a mile, and two from river to river."

I. The charter of "the city of Philadelphia" was granted by William Penn, under date of 25th October, 1701.

II. The district of Southwark was erected into a municipal corporation by an act passed 18th April, 1794. The Legislature, at that time, held its sessions in Philadelphia; and it is not unfair to presume, that the proposition to create an independent body corporate, alongside of the city of Philadelphia, was viewed and discussed in all its aspects. Then it was that the issue was presented in a direct and simple form, either to enlarge the city bounds, or grant a separate charter. The Legislature, no doubt agreeably to the wishes of the people, chose the latter alternative, and thereby established the policy of erecting separate districts, which has been continued to the present time.

III. The district of the Northern Liberties was incorporated by an act passed 28th March, 1803.

IV. The district of Moyamensing was incorporated by an act passed 24th March, 1812.

V. The district of Spring Garden was incorporated by an act passed 22d March, 1813.

VI. The district of Kensington was incorporated by an act passed 6th March, 1820.

VII. The district of Penn was incorporated by an act passed 26th February, 1844.

VIII. The district of Richmond was incorporated by an act passed 27th February, 1847.

BOROUGHES.

I. Germantown was incorporated as a borough town by a charter from William Penn, executed in England, and bearing date of 12th August, 1689.

II. The borough of Frankford was incorporated 7th March, 1800.

III. The borough of Manayunk was incorporated 11th June, 1840.

IV. The borough of West Philadelphia was incorporated the 17th day of March, 1844.

V. The borough of Bridesburg was incorporated the 1st day of April, 1848.

VI. The borough of Whitehall was incorporated the 9th day of April, 1849.

VII. The borough of Aramingo was incorporated the 11th day of April, 1850.

TOWNSHIPS.

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|------------------------|
| I. Unincorporated Northern Liberties, | VII. Upper Germantown, |
| II. Oxford, | VIII. Roxborough, |
| III. Lower Dublin, | IX. North Penn, |
| IV. Byberry, | X. Blockley, |
| V. Moreland, | XI. Kingsessing, |
| VI. Bristol. | XII. Passyunk. |

MUNICIPALITIES.	Area in acres.	Population by U. S. census.	Number of dwellings.
City of Philadelphia - - -	1,402½	121,417	16,272
District of the Northern Liberties -	320	47,223	6,854
“ Spring Garden - - -	1,100	58,895	9,150
“ Kensington - - -	1,238	46,776	7,555
“ Richmond - - -	1,163	5,840	1,025
“ Penn - - -	1,198	8,939	1,302
“ Southwark - - -	508½	38,799	6,451
“ Moyamensing - - -	1,486	26,979	4,096
BOROUGHES.			
The seven incorporated boroughs -	[Est.] 5,384	25,250	4,251
RURAL DISTRICTS.			
The twelve townships - - -	[Est.] 63,000	28,927	4,246
Total - - -	76,800	409,045	61,202

Counties in Pennsylvania, and time when established.

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| I. Philadelphia, } | XV. Montgomery, Sep. 10, 1784. |
| II. Bucks, } | XVI. Dauphin, March, 4, 1785. |
| III. Chester, } | XVII. Luzerne, Sep. 25, 1786. |
| IV. Lancaster, May 10, 1729. | XVIII. Huntingdon, Sep. 20, 1787. |
| V. York, August 19, 1749. | XIX. Allegheny, Sep. 24, 1788. |
| VI. Cumberland, Jan. 27, 1750. | XX. Mifflin, September, 19, 1789. |
| VII. Berks, March 11, 1752. | XXI. Delaware, Sep. 26, 1789. |
| VIII. Northampton, March 11, 1752. | XXII. Lycoming, April 13, 1795. |
| IX. Bedford, March 9, 1771. | XXIII. Somerset, April 17, 1795. |
| X. Northumberland, March. 21, 1772. | XXIV. Greene, February 9, 1796. |
| XI. Westmoreland, Feb. 26, 1773. | XXV. Wayne, March 21, 1798. |
| XII. Washington, March 28, 1781. | XXVI. Adams, January 22, 1800. |
| XIII. Fayette, September 26, 1783. | XXVII. Centre, February 13, 1800. |
| XIV. Franklin, September 9, 1784. | XXVIII. Beaver, March 12, 1800. |
| | XXIX. Butler, March 12, 1800. |

XXX. Mercer, March 12, 1800.	XLVI. Lehigh, March 6, 1812.
XXXI. Crawford, March 12, 1800.	XLVII. Columbia, March 22, 1813.
XXXII. Erie, March 12, 1800.	XLVIII. Lebanon, February 16, 1813.
XXXIII. Warren, March 12, 1800.	XLIX. Union, February 22, 1813.
XXXIV. Venango, March 12, 1800.	L. Pike, March 26, 1814.
XXXV. Armstrong, March 12, 1800.	LI. Perry, March 22, 1820.
XXXVI. Indiana, March 30, 1803.	LII. Juniata, March 2, 1831.
XXXVII. Jefferson, March 26, 1804.	LIII. Monroe, April 1, 1836.
XXXVIII. McKean, March 26, 1804.	LIV. Clarion, March 11, 1839.
XXXIX. Clearfield, March, 26, 1804.	LV. Clinton, June 21, 1839.
XL. Potter, March 26, 1804.	LVI. Wyoming, April 14, 1842.
XLI. Tioga, March 26, 1804.	LVII. Carbon, March 13, 1843.
XLII. Cambria, March 26, 1804.	LVIII. Elk, April 18, 1843.
XLIII. Bradford, February 21, 1810,	LIX. Blair, February 26, 1846.
by the name of Ontario, but	LX. Sullivan, March 15, 1847.
afterward changed to Brad-	LXI. Forest, April 11, 1848.
ford	LXII. Lawrence, March 20, 1849.
XLIV. Susquehanna, Feb. 21, 1810.	LXIII. Fulton, April 19, 1850.
XLV. Schuylkill, March 1, 1811.	LXIV. Montour, May 3, 1850.

The Constitution of the United States was ratified by the thirteen original States in the following order :

I. Delaware, December 7, 1787.	VII. Maryland, April 28, 1788.
II. Pennsylvania, Dec. 12, 1787.	VIII. South Carolina, May 23, 1788.
III. New Jersey, Dec. 18, 1787.	IX. N. Hampshire, June 21, 1788.
IV. Georgia, January, 2, 1788.	X. Virginia, June 26, 1788.
V. Connecticut, Jan. 9, 1788.	XI. New York, July 26, 1788.
VI. Massachusetts, Feb. 6, 1788.	XII. North Carolina, Nov. 21, 1789.
XIII. Rhode Island, May 29, 1790.	

States admitted into the Union since the adoption of the Constitution :

XIV. Vermont, March 4, 1791.	XXIII. Maine, March 14, 1819.
XV. Kentucky, June 1, 1792.	XXIV. Missouri, August 10, 1821.
XVI. Tennessee, June 1, 1796.	XXV. Arkansas, June 15, 1836.
XVII. Ohio, November 29, 1802.	XXVI. Michigan, Jan. 26, 1837.
XVIII. Louisiana, April 8, 1812.	XXVII. Florida, March 3, 1845.
XIX. Indiana, December 11, 1816.	XXVIII. Texas, December 29, 1845.
XX. Mississippi, Dec. 10, 1817.	XXIX. Iowa, December 28, 1846.
XXI. Illinois, December 3, 1818.	XXX. Wisconsin, May 29, 1848.
XXII. Alabama, December 14, 1819.	XXXI. California, Sep. 9, 1850.

Territories for which territorial governments have been established by the Congress of the United States :

Oregon,	Utah,
Minnesota,	New Mexico.

The nation comprises a group of thirty-one States, and possesses besides, an almost boundless public domain, out of which many additional States will be formed hereafter.

The Commonwealth embodies a cluster of sixty-four counties, each having all the machinery and appendages of a distinct county organization, and bills are pending in this Legislature to increase the number.

A bunch of eight contiguous municipalities compose the dense and populous incorporated region of Philadelphia. Two of them, Southwark and Moyamensing, are

located between the Delaware and Schuylkill rivers, and south of the city line. Five of them, the Northern Liberties, Spring Garden, Kensington, Penn, and Richmond, are situated between the same rivers north of the city line. As the population in the lapse of years increased and extended over the city bounds, these districts were erected one after another, in the order of date named in their charters. Each district, as well as the city, has expended large sums of money in necessary local improvements within their respective corporate limits. Surveys and plans have been made; streets have been graded, paved, lighted, and improved; sewers and drains have been built; market houses and public halls have been erected; water and light have been secured; along the river front public landings have been constructed; lamp and watch have been provided, with all other needful ordinances and regulations requisite for the protection of property, and the comfort, safety, and convenience of the citizens. The corporate bounds being fixed by law, each district has its own plan, which, however, in every case is consistent with, and forms a section of the general plan of the county. In the older districts, where but little remains to be done to complete the local improvements, we find a low rate of corporation tax, and comparative exemption from corporation debt. Having paid these expenses in days ago, is it just or equitable that the people of a district thus favourably circumstanced should be subjected to the cost, or any portion of the cost, of similar improvements to be made elsewhere?

In the case of the incorporated Northern Liberties, it is capable of the clearest demonstration, that by proper management the district can ere long derive sufficient revenue to meet all needful expenditures from the income of water works, markets, public landings, and other property. She may be free from debt and from a corporation tax, unless it be deemed preferable to furnish water free of charge, and continue to levy a small corporation tax rate. Whereas, if her corporate existence be destroyed, and her territory made a part of a huge corporation that will encircle miles of unimproved surface, and require immense outlays of corporation funds for improvements commensurate to the wants and demands of increasing and extending population, endless debt and taxation will be entailed without any corresponding benefits.

Rather let her stand a monument of municipal independence, to encourage her sister districts to emulate her example. There is no district in the county of Philadelphia that does not contain a population possessing abundant energy, honesty, and means, to manage the corporation and pay its debts. To argue otherwise, is to confess an incapability for self-government which cannot be charged against the citizens of any portion of Philadelphia. There is nothing to discourage in the financial prospect of any district; but on the contrary, a ray of promise rises above the horizon of each. And in those cases where now the debts are heaviest and the tax rate highest, a time will come when they also, if no new territory is annexed, will be comparatively free from corporation debt and tax.

To pretend that a rise in the value of real estate would follow a union of the several corporations into one great city, is a ruse too transparent to deceive any one who will investigate the matter. True, the word *city* may have a charm for the giddy votary of fashion (whose head intended by nature for thinking purposes is appropriated by habit to other uses), which the word *district* may not possess; but fashion with its sceptre cannot control the laws of trade, nor guide the judgment of men of intelligence and sense. The taste that would prompt an individual to prefer one spot to another, because of the mere difference in corporate title, would persuade the same individual to locate in a particular street or square; for fashion in its whims and changes may fix its circuit even inside the bounds of a corporation.

Property is graduated in value by the income it will yield in the shape of rent, or the price it will bring if exposed for sale. In eligible business locations, real estate is rated highest, and appreciates more rapidly than at points combining fewer advantages. Compare the property which skirts the Delaware river with the property which skirts the Schuylkill river—consider the facilities of every kind enjoyed and possessed by each place respectively, and no surprise is felt that one outmeasures the other in value. Suppose the Schuylkill border of Spring Garden and the Delaware border of the Northern Liberties were both annexed to the city, would that alone make each

foot of ground in either place represent an equal number of dollars? Certainly not. So with dwelling houses; compare those which are grouped together in neighbourhoods free from turbulence and vice—where the in-dweller has an assurance of peace, comfort, and safety, with others not so blest in these particulars, and the first will command a price which the latter will not bring.

In a community encumbered with an onerous debt and tax, real estate of course will bring less than in a community out of debt and paying only a nominal tax, other conditions being equal. Unite these two communities into one, and while the real estate that is released from a portion of the public liability by this process will rise in price, the real estate to which fresh liabilities have thus been added will descend in price, in proportion as the net productiveness was increased in the one case and lessened in the other.

Debt and tax are palpable things, which fall heavy not only on the ear but on the pocket. The landlord adds his tax to the rent, and if the tax be increased the rent is increased, so that the tenant is compelled to pay it in the end from the earnings of his labour. It is the product of the labour of a community that augments its wealth and pays its debts. And as the debt and tax north of Vine street are less, much less than the debt and tax south of Vine street, by the union of these two grand divisions of Philadelphia, the labour of the northern division would be mortgaged and taxed for a debt incurred in making improvements exclusively in the southern division.

Suppose the General Government were asked to assume the debts of the States, and that in order to raise means sufficient to meet the ordinary expenses of the treasury and the interest on the consolidated debt, it were to become necessary, in addition to the revenue derived from tariff duties collected in custom houses, to levy a horizontal tax on all the real and personal estate in the country, would not such a policy operate unequally and unjustly on the States now free from debt?

Rate of Municipal Tax levied on the assessed property in the City and Districts in 1850, and disbursed by the Councils and Commissioners:

<i>South of Vine Street.</i> —City of Philadelphia, 58 cents on the hundred dollars.			
	District of Southwark, 65	“	“
	“ Moyamensing, 100	“	“
<i>North of Vine Street.</i> —			
	“ Spring Garden, 40	“	“
	“ N. Liberties, 25	“	“
	“ Kensington, 55	“	“
	“ Richmond, 50	“	“
	“ Penn, 45	“	“

The subjoined tables exhibit the amount of tax levied in Philadelphia and New York; also the ratio of capitation tax, and the average taxation for every dwelling. The gross tax levy divided by the number of inhabitants and dwellings respectively, the quotient will be the average sum for every inhabitant and house. The difference between these quotients, in each case, is the difference in the proportionate taxation of the two places; for it is the whole amount of tax levied in Philadelphia and New York that must be examined, contrasted, and compared, to ascertain exactly how much higher, and, consequently, how much more burdensome taxation is in the last than in the first-named metropolis.

At the same time, in extenuation of the seemingly high tax charged against the boroughs in the county of Philadelphia, it should be remembered that a majority, if not all of them, are without any public debt whatever, and that the improvements are paid for wholly out of the annual tax fund; while in the city and incorporated districts similar improvements were paid for out of a fund raised by loan, the interest of which is paid out of the annual tax fund, and the principal reimbursed by degrees, from tax and other revenue sources.

STATEMENT of the whole amount of tax levied in Philadelphia City and County in 1850.

	By County Commissioners.	By Guardians of the Poor.	By City Councils and District Commissioners.	State Tax.	By Borough Councils and Township Officers.	Average per capita Corporation Tax.	Average Corporation Tax for every dwelling.
City of Philadelphia - - -	\$451,959 29	\$118,637 26	\$355,984 00	\$254,830 99		\$2 93	\$21 87
District of the Northern Liberties -	60,054 15	19,677 94	26,228 46	36,239 35		55	3 82
“ Spring Garden -	77,649 42	26,279 31	*51,216 82	47,110 36		86	5 59
“ Kensington -	33,792 30	12,922 00	35,781 55	22,928 96		76	4 73
“ Richmond -	7,978 75	1,998 07	6,912 99	4,874 53		+1 18	6 74
“ Penn - - -	13,965 18	4,798 36	11,363 35	8,307 25		+1 27	8 72
“ Southwark -	34,794 52	12,074 34	38,461 34	22,386 49		99	5 95
“ Moyamensing -	18,702 94	6,922 50	24,150 28	12,147 58		89	5 89
	\$698,896 55	\$203,309 78	\$550,098 79	\$408,825 51		Average per capita, Borough, and Poor Tax.	Average Borough and Poor Tax for every dwelling.
Boroughs - - - - -	24,454 50			15,159 53	\$25,679 54	\$1 01	\$6 04
Townships - - - - -	51,612 68	4,708 22	* Estimate furnished in Clerk's office.	30,407 85	25,005 59		Average Road & Poor tax per acre 40
Grand total—County tax - -	\$774,963 73	\$208,018 00		\$454,392 89	\$50,685 13		
Poor tax - - - - -	208,018 00						
Corporation tax - - - - -	550,098 79						
Borough tax - - - - -	25,679 54						
Township tax - - - - -	25,005 59						
Tax levied for City and County purposes - - - - -	\$1,583,765 65						
Add State Tax - - - - -	454,392 89						
Gross amount of tax levy - -	\$2,038,158 54						

Cost of government in Philadelphia equal to an average per capita tax of \$3 87, and equal to an average tax on every dwelling of \$25 87. The State tax is paid into the State treasury, and is not included in the foregoing calculation. The State tax added, makes the whole amount equal to an average per capita tax of \$4 98, and equal to an average tax on every dwelling of \$33 30.

† These two districts being new, but a small proportion of the territory is compactly built upon; hence a large share of the corporation tax is levied on the land, and if divided among the acres would materially reduce the above average.

Amount of tax levied in the city and county of New York in 1850 :

For city and county purposes	-	-	-	-	\$3,087,303 26
“ State tax	-	-	-	-	143,042 70
					<u>\$3,230,345 96</u>
Population	-	-	-	-	515,394
Dwellings	-	-	-	-	37,730
Equal to an average per capita ratio, excluding State tax, of	-	-	-	-	\$5 99
“ “ “ “ including “	-	-	-	-	6 26
Average for every dwelling, excluding State tax	-	-	-	-	81 82
“ “ “ including “	-	-	-	-	85 61
Amount of tax levied in New York in 1847	-	-	-	-	\$2,581,776 30
“ “ 1848	-	-	-	-	2,715,510 25
“ “ 1849	-	-	-	-	3,005,762 52
“ “ 1850	-	-	-	-	3,230,345 96
“ “ 1851 (comptroller's estimate)	-	-	-	-	3,834,393 77
Increase of 1851 over 1847	-	-	-	-	1,252,617 43
Average annual tax increase	-	-	-	-	313,154 35
Item: net cost of New York police in 1847	-	-	-	-	469,752 68
“ “ 1848	-	-	-	-	480,008 02
“ “ 1849	-	-	-	-	504,085 65
“ “ 1850	-	-	-	-	487,435 09
New York city debt January 1st, 1851	-	-	-	-	<u>\$11,026,604 39</u>

The effective police force of the city of New York on the 1st October, 1850, numbered eight hundred and ninety-six men, to wit:

Captains	-	-	-	-	-	-	18
Assistant captains	-	-	-	-	-	-	36
Sergeants	-	-	-	-	-	-	70
Policemen	-	-	-	-	-	-	772
							<u>896</u>

From the report of the New York chief of police for the quarter ending September 30, 1850, it appears “that there have been ten thousand and ten persons arrested by the members of this department for offences against the laws of the State, showing an increase over the number of arrests during the previous quarter of one thousand seven hundred and eighty-six. This large increase of arrests were mainly for such offences as assault and battery, disorderly conduct, intoxication, and vagrancy, while there has been a proportionable increase in the number of arrests for the higher grades of crime. The captains of the several districts have reported to me eight hundred and eighty-five burglaries, grand larcenies, and petit larcenies, committed in the city during the quarter, and one thousand and thirty persons as having been arrested for the commission of similar offences.”

It is evident from the foregoing, that our sister city, New York, neither in her financial tables nor her police statistics, exhibits anything to win the admiration of a Philadelphian, so far as to lead him to desire to imitate her practice and copy her laws.

And yet it is this costly and centralizing system, that this Legislature is invoked to impose on the people of the Pennsylvania metropolis.

The municipal system of Philadelphia is no anomaly. The vast city of London and the renowned city of Paris, are neither of them a municipal unit like the city of New York.

London comprises the city of London, the out parishes of the city of London, the city of Westminster. The five parliamentary boroughs, to wit: Marylebone, Lambeth, Southwark, Finsbury, Tower Hamlets, and those portions of land lying between what is called London and the "environs" of London.

Its area extends into four counties, Middlesex, and Essex, on the north side of the river Thames, and Kent and Surry on the south side of the river Thames.

By the census of 1841, the last national census of England, these counties exhibited the following returns of population.

Middlesex	-	-	-	-	-	-	1,576,636
Essex	-	-	-	-	-	-	582,678
Kent	-	-	-	-	-	-	540,337
Sussex	-	-	-	-	-	-	344,979
							3,052,630

The "city of London" is on the north side of the river Thames, and comprises a parliamentary district.

The "city of Westminster" is on the north side of the river Thames, and returns two members of parliament.

The parliamentary borough of Marylebone is on the north side of the river Thames, and consists of three Parishes, St. Marylebone, Paddington, and St. Pancras. The parliamentary borough of Tower Hamlets, comprises certain parishes or hamlets, and liberties, is on the north side of the river Thames, and elects two members.

The parliamentary borough of Finsbury is on the north side of the river Thames.

Southwark lies on the south side of the river Thames, and elects two members of parliament.

Lambeth, a parliamentary borough, lies on the south side of the river Thames.

THE PARKS OF LONDON :

The area of Regent's Park is	-	-	-	-	403 acres.
" " Hyde Park	-	-	-	-	387 "
" " Kensington Gardens	-	-	-	-	290 "
" " Greenwich Park	-	-	-	-	174 "
" " Victoria Park	-	-	-	-	160 "
" " St. James' Park	-	-	-	-	83 "
" " Green Park	-	-	-	-	71 "
Total	-	-	-	-	1568 "

The number of persons taken into custody by the metropolitan police and the city police, between the years 1844 and 1848 inclusive, amounted to 374,710. The gross number of robberies committed in London during the same period, amounted to 70,889. The value of the property stolen amounted to 270,945 pounds sterling, and the value of the property recovered amounted to 55,167 pounds sterling, or about one-fifth of the property stolen.

Area and population in 1841, within the Metropolitan Police District, including the "City of London," which has a separate police organization :

CITY OF LONDON.

	Aeres.	Population.	Aeres.	Population.
Within the walls - - - -	370	54,626		
Without the walls - - - -	230	68,682		
City within and without the walls - - - -	-	-	600	123,308
City of Westminster - - - -	-	-	2,508	226,344
Finsbury - - - -	-	-	4,708	269,490
Marylebone - - - -	-	-	7,380	303,193
Tower Hamlets - - - -	-	-	8,994	430,215
Southwark - - - -	-	-	1,900	146,962
Lambeth - - - -	-	-	3,640	115,888
Parish of Kensington - - - -	-	-	2,680	26,834
" Greenwich - - - -	-	-	2,030	29,755
" Woolwich - - - -	-	-	840	25,785
" Chelsea - - - -	-	-	780	40,179
" Newington - - - -	-	-	630	54,606
" Hammersmith - - - -	-	-	2,140	13,453
Other districts and parishes - - - -	-	-	44,970	155,798
			83,800	1,961,810

Population of London in 1831 - - - -	1,666,384
" " 1821 - - - -	1,386,574
" " 1811 - - - -	1,145,614
" " 1801 - - - -	966,863

Population and area of the wards of the City of London, and of the districts or parishes without the city, which comprise the rest of the metropolis :

	Area.	Population.
City - - - -	600	123,308
Districts or parishes - - - -	83,200	1,838,502
	83,800	1,961,810

In the year 1829, the ancient London system of police and nightly watch was re-modeled. Before that time, these guardians of the public peace were appointed by the several wards in the city, and by the local authorities in the districts and parishes of the metropolis.

The act of parliament creating the metropolitan police was passed in the tenth year of the reign of George IV. (1829), and was entitled "An Act for improving the police in and near the metropolis, for the purpose of establishing a new and more efficient system of police, in the room of the inadequate local establishments of nightly watch and nightly police within the limits in the said act specified therein, called the 'Metropolitan Police District.'"

This new police commenced its duties in several of the parishes of Westminster, on the 29th of September, 1829, and gradually extended to the other districts, till in 1847 it comprised a force of 4,792 men, exclusive of the police force of the "city of London."

On the 17th August, 1839, another act of parliament was passed, entitled "An Act for further improving the police in and near the metropolis," declaring it "lawful for her majesty, by the advice of her privy council, to order that any place which is part of the central criminal court district, *except the city of London and liberties thereof*, and such places as are or may be included in an act already passed or to be passed in this session of parliament, entitled 'An Act for regulating the police *in the city of London*;' and also that any part of any parish, township, precinct, or place

which is not more than fifteen miles distant from Charing Cross in a straight line, may be added to and form a part of the metropolitan police district."

The metropolitan police is a disciplined body, subject to the control of a board styled the "Commissioners of Police of the Metropolis," who are required to make annual returns to parliament.

The city of London, for its own exclusive police purposes, is divided into six police districts, in each of which there is a station house. Each district is divided into sections, and each section into day or night beats, like those of the metropolitan police without the city.

The city of Paris is divided into twelve different departments, each with its mayor and two deputy-mayors, for regulating the various interests of that great city, with a separate prefecture of police of extensive powers.

From an examination of the municipal organization of the three great emporiums of the great nations of the earth, nothing is elicited to weaken the confidence of a Philadelphian in the local policy and organization of his own city and county.

Let us present a brief outline of Philadelphia city and county, and contrast the truth with the assertions of those who describe it as a community divided by local jealousies, and cut up into petty corporations, clashing against and warring one with another.

The ground plan of the picture. Philadelphia is one of the three original counties, and was erected by the first assembly held in the province of Pennsylvania, at Chester, December 4th, 1682—in session three days.

Philadelphia has a complete county organization. The county officers, to wit, sheriff, county treasurer, county commissioners, auditors, recorder of deeds, register of wills, prothonotaries of the court of common pleas and district court, clerk of the orphans' court, and clerk of the court of quarter sessions, are elected by the vote of the whole county.

Philadelphia county comprises one judicial district and one school district. The laws providing for the assessment of damages by jury, for the opening of streets and roads, are the same throughout the county. Aldermen, committing magistrates, and constables have jurisdiction in the wards, boroughs, and townships throughout the county. In the foregoing particulars the city is a constituent portion of the county.

Now come the divisions. By a provision of the constitution, the city of Philadelphia is erected into a separate representative district; the county likewise comprises a separate representative district, in such manner, however, that except at the time of the septennial apportionment, the representation of the city cannot be increased without the representation of the county is diminished by a loss of territory and taxable inhabitants. The jurisdiction of the board of guardians of the poor extends over the city and districts and two townships; in the outer portions of the county, and west of the river Schuylkill, the indigent poor are provided for by borough and township regulations. And surely no one will object to this arrangement, especially as among the farming population such persons are "few and far between." The board of health has jurisdiction over the city and districts, but not over the entire county. And this too is a wise regulation, for such an institution is only necessary in and around a crowded population.

The Philadelphia police district comprises the city and incorporated districts. As the outer range of rural districts do not require the services of a standing police force, it would be unjust to impose on them the expense of a police establishment. Authority is reserved to the marshal, however, to suppress disturbance and tumult in any part of the county.

On this platform is built the superstructure of the different municipal corporations. First is the city of Philadelphia with its original boundary line, in the spot chosen by William Penn almost one hundred and seventy years ago! William Penn, before he sailed from England, sent out commissioners with the colonists to lay out a town and survey the lands. His letter of instructions is dated October 14th, 1681. The commissioners, however, did no more than explore the country till the arrival of the proprietary in 1682. In the latter part of that year, William Penn laid out the city of Philadelphia on its present site. The original plan of the city was made by Thomas Holme, the first surveyor general, in the year 1683. The city was divided into lots, and the position of the streets marked out on the survey. Vine street bounded the

city on the north, Cedar street on the south, and the two rivers on the east and west. A large tract of land adjoining the city lines was surveyed, and called the Liberties. The lands west of the Schuylkill were known as the Western Liberties, and the lands north of the city as the Northern Liberties.

Southwark was originally laid out under an act passed the 26th of March, 1762, and other acts supplementary thereto were passed, before the Legislature finally erected it into an incorporated district, by an act passed 18th April, 1794.

In the Northern Liberties, surveys and plans were made under an act passed the 9th of March, 1771, and under supplemental acts preceeding the act of incorporation, passed the 28th day of March, 1803. We might go on with these illustrations, and give the chronology of the several corporations in a direct line, to develop the gradations in the formation and growth of each, through all the generations that have lived since the foundation of the city; but the examples noted are sufficient to establish the proposition and confirm the declaration, that it was the settled policy of the time-honoured fathers of the metropolis, to raise up a group of municipal sisters, and not one huge corporation, to rival the sovereignty of the State.

The history and experience of other great cities furnish no evidence to shake our faith in the wisdom of that policy, but much to strengthen and confirm it.

POPULATION OF PHILADELPHIA :

				Taxables.	Dwellings	Population.
1683	-	-	-		80	
1700	-	-	-		700	
1708	-	-	-		1,200	
1720	-	-	-	1,195		
1740	-	-	-	4,850		
1741	-	-	-	5,043		

From the following details of the enumeration of taxables in 1741, it will be observed that, at that early date, all the townships now in the county but one (North Penn) are in the list :

Northern Liberties	-	-	-	151	Germantown	-	-	-	-	168
Oxford	-	-	-	78	Roxborough	-	-	-	-	38
Lower Dublin	-	-	-	125	Blockley	-	-	-	-	72
Byberry	-	-	-	52	Kingessing	-	-	-	-	59
Moreland	-	-	-	125	Passyunk and	}	-	-	-	78
Bristol	-	-	-	64	Moyamensing		-	-	-	

						Dwellings.	Inhabitants.
1749	{	City	-	-	-	1,864	7,391
		Southwark	-	-	-	150	595
		Northern Liberties	-	-	-	62	244
						<u>2,076</u>	<u>8,230</u>
1753,		Philadelphia	-	-	-	<u>2,300</u>	<u>14,563</u>
1760,		"	-	-	-	<u>2,960</u>	<u>18,756</u>
1769	{	City of Philadelphia	-	-	-	3,318	
		Southwark	-	-	-	603	
		Northern Liberties	-	-	-	553	
						<u>4,474</u>	<u>28,042</u>

The census of 1777 was taken by the British, when in possession of Philadelphia. War and hatred of the enemy had reduced the number of inhabitants :

						Dwellings.	Inhabitants.
1777	{	City	-	-	-	3,863	15,847
		Southwark	-	-	-	836	2,872
		Northern Liberties	-	-	-	1,286	5,015
						5,985	23,734

United States Census of Philadelphia.

	1790	1800	1810	1820	1830	1840	1850
City of Philadelphia -	28,522	41,220	53,722	63,802	80,458	93,665	121,417
<i>South of city and east of river Schuylkill -</i>							
Southwark - - - -	5,661	9,621	13,707	14,713	20,740	27,548	38,799
Moyamensing - - - -		1,592	2,887	3,963	6,822	14,573	26,979
Passyunk - - - -		884	992	1,638	1,441	1,594	1,607
<i>North of city and east of river Schuylkill -</i>							
Northern Liberties -				19,678	28,923	34,474	47,223
Unincorporated Northern Liberties - -	8,337	16,970	21,558	1,810	2,453	3,332	1,938
* Spring Garden - -				3,498	11,141	27,849	58,895
* Kensington - - -				7,118	13,326	22,314	46,776
* Penn District - -							8,939
* Richmond - - -							5,840
* Penn Township - -			3,798	3,105	2,507	3,342	2,687
Oxford - - - -		1,518	973	1,315	1,502	1,582	1,787
Frankford - - - -			1,233	1,405	1,637	2,376	5,346
Lower Dublin - - -		1,495	2,194	2,640	2,705	3,298	4,297
Byberry - - - -		579	765	876	1,018	1,055	1,130
Moreland - - - -		362	400	443	418	469	493
Bristol - - - -		771	965	1,257	1,425	1,734	2,230
Upper Germantown }							
Lower Germantown }		3,220	4,243	4,311	4,642	5,482	8,336
Roxborough - - -		1,048	1,252	1,682	3,334	5,797	2,660
Manuyunk - - - -							6,210
* Bridesburg - - -							915
* Aramingo - - - -							694
Whitehall - - - -							489
<i>West of the Schuylkill -</i>							
Blockley - - - -		1,091	1,618	2,655	3,401	3,318	5,910
West Philadelphia -						2,896	5,670
Kingessing - - - -		634	903	1,188	1,068	1,339	1,778
	42,520	81,005	111,210	137,097	188,961	258,037	409,045

* Formerly a part of "The Northern Liberties."

Increase of dwellings and inhabitants on the territory comprised in the city, in Southwark, and in the Northern Liberties, from 1749 to 1850—one hundred and one years!

					Dwellings.	Inhabitants.
1850,	City	-	-	-	16,272	121,417
1749,	"	-	-	-	1,864	7,391
	Increase	-	-	-	<u>14,408</u>	<u>114,026</u>
1850,	Southwark	-	-	-	6,451	38,799
1749,	"	-	-	-	150	595
	Increase	-	-	-	<u>6,301</u>	<u>38,204</u>
1850,	Northern Liberties and districts erected out of its territory				26,947	173,907
1749,	Northern Liberties				62	244
	Increase	-	-	-	<u>26,885</u>	<u>173,663</u>

Northward "the star of empire takes its way!"

The annexed statement of the amount of debt of the city and districts, as well as the county debt and the debt of the guardians of the poor, which together comprise the whole debt of the city and county, is taken from the memorial of the executive committee on consolidation, presented to the Legislature, in the month of April, 1850:

DISTRICTS.	Five per cent.	Six per cent.	Total Debt.
City - - -	\$2,132,900 00	\$3,552,900 00	\$5,685,800 00
Kensington - - -	108,468 75	133,566 37	242,035 12
Northern Liberties - -	67,300 00	182,900 00	250,200 00
Spring Garden - - -	221,710 00	473,611 82	695,321 82
Moyamensing - - -	71,493 15	16,850 00	88,343 15
Southwark - - -	5½ 174,850 00	141,050 00	315,900 00
District of Penn - - -	no 5 per cent.	16,500 00	16,500 00
District of Richmond -	"	43,500 00	43,500 00
	\$2,776,721 90	\$4,560,878 19	\$7,337,600 09
Net Guardians of Poor Debt	570,035 74	39,370 62	609,406 36
Net County Debt - - -	960,560 00	531,517 20	1,492,077 31
	\$4,307,317 64	\$5,131,766 01	\$9,439,083 76
Ded't Sink. Fund, City & Gas	180,283 47	376,705 28	556,988 86
	<u>\$4,127,034 17</u>	<u>\$4,755,060 73</u>	<u>\$8,882,094 90</u>

Public Grounds in Philadelphia City and Districts.

Independence Square	-	-	-	-	-	City.
Washington	"	-	-	-	-	"
Franklin	"	-	-	-	-	"
Penn	"	-	-	-	-	"
Logan	"	-	-	-	-	"
Rittenhouse	"	-	-	-	-	"
Norris	"	-	-	-	-	Kensington.
Fairhill	"	-	-	-	-	"
Shackamaxon	"	-	-	-	-	"

The number of commitments to the Philadelphia county prison for the year ending December 31, 1850, were as follows, to wit:

Committed from the City	-	-	-	-	-	-	2,927
" " the Northern Liberties	-	-	-	-	-	-	465
" " Spring Garden	-	-	-	-	-	-	201
" " Kensington	-	-	-	-	-	-	277
" " Richmond	-	-	-	-	-	-	14
" " Penn	-	-	-	-	-	-	12
" " Moyamensing	-	-	-	-	-	-	2,241
" " Southwark	-	-	-	-	-	-	1,294
" " Boroughs and townships	-	-	-	-	-	-	102
Total	-	-	-	-	-	-	<u>7,533</u>

Statement of the number of paupers admitted into and discharged from the Philadelphia Almshouse and House of Employment, during the year ending May 20, 1850.

	Men.	Women.	Children.	Total.
Number of Inmates, May 17, 1849	771	737	186	1,714
Admitted from the city	1,458	1,019	187	2,654
" " the Northern Liberties	249	111	89	449
" " Kensington	187	78	62	327
" " Penn	109	97	23	229
" " Spring Garden	121	114	21	255
" " Southwark	126	63	60	249
" " Moyamensing	336	214	81	631
Scattering	43	31	7	81
Births			148	148
Total	3,400	2,484	863	6,747
Discharged, eloped, bound, and died	2,567	1,840	618	5,025
Inmates, May 18, 1850	833	644	245	1,722

PHILADELPHIA.

The following Statement, showing the capital invested in manufacturing—value of the raw material consumed—the number of hands employed—the wages paid, and the value of the annual product of this branch of industry, in the city and county of Philadelphia, during the year ending June 30th, 1850, is taken from the census returns furnished by A. E. Roberts, Marshal of the Eastern District of Pennsylvania :

Name of Ward or District producing Articles to the Annual Value of \$500.	Capital invested in Manufacturing.	Value Raw Material used, including Fuel.	Average number of hands employed.		Wages.		Values of Annual Products.
			Male.	Female.	Aver. monthly cost of male labour.	Aver. monthly cost of female labour.	
CITY.							
North Mulberry -	\$584,400	\$301,661	839	191	\$18,776	\$1,915	\$1,066,431
South Mulberry -	167,085	157,969	217	119	5,311	1,331	317,930
North - - -	1,340,150	313,177	632	35	17,717	286	1,018,573
Locust - - -	46,295	55,500	119	56	3,004	514	153,900
Middle - - -	1,488,125	1,197,585	1,359	709	37,738	8,167	2,143,025
South - - -	401,650	201,540	486	87	15,833	985	551,300
Lombard - -	102,300	139,235	307	143	4,750	635	188,021
Spruce - - -	38,450	44,899	61	19	1,623	226	93,900
Cedar - - -	625,401	477,583	510	427	10,689	4,371	798,800
New Market -	207,710	301,512	351	117	9,797	1,421	628,841
Pine - - -	164,700	531,899	293	239	7,785	2,986	559,260
Duck - - -	400,400	707,660	636	291	16,520	3,401	1,116,980
Walnut - - -	1,513,150	1,144,408	1,569	353	52,928	5,461	3,694,825
Chesnut - -	2,710,075	3,590,108	4,556	3,528	119,556	39,804	6,606,495
High - - -	1,265,300	1,433,512	2,341	1,152	55,920	10,921	3,236,990
Lower Delaware -	1,850,675	1,490,880	2,011	1,626	48,345	14,042	3,308,342
Upper Delaware -	371,100	512,723	673	151	18,322	1,417	1,115,250
	\$13,207,695	\$12,665,211	17,020	9,046	\$145,675	\$97,955	\$26,309,265
N. LIBERTIES.							
First Ward -	1,231,300	1,128,393	951	156	\$21,494	\$1,606	\$1,797,800
Second Ward -	477,800	604,336	323	51	8,712	896	906,600
Third Ward -	677,050	610,616	932	264	25,762	2,929	1,207,350
Fourth Ward -	181,400	73,308	288	16	6,664	304	405,200
Fifth Ward -	405,901	467,208	818	382	19,471	3,746	1,225,286
Sixth Ward -	186,400	196,967	327	49	8,185	379	404,422
Seventh Ward -	759,400	653,513	824	261	22,369	2,340	1,126,365
	\$3,922,251	\$3,764,341	4,463	1,182	\$115,657	\$12,200	\$7,073,023
SPRING GARDEN.							
First Ward -	\$396,900	\$167,783	277	102	\$2,629	\$1,193	\$704,595
Second Ward -	76,200	185,663	316	120	8,278	1,522	387,256
Third Ward -	207,250	233,240	318	146	7,418	1,478	428,627
Fourth Ward -	636,695	952,818	1,186	90	21,432	939	1,442,019
Fifth Ward -	231,335	188,438	389	43	8,890	384	437,634
Sixth Ward -	752,995	578,709	1,138	30	29,190	490	1,038,940
Seventh Ward -	612,070	439,565	672	323	15,366	3,532	937,710
	\$2,913,445	\$3,046,216	4,326	854	\$93,303	\$9,538	\$5,376,781
KENSINGTON.							
First Ward -	\$621,450	\$833,403	588	52	\$20,593	\$542	\$1,309,106
Second Ward -	533,950	604,716	715	166	16,137	1,345	969,651
Third Ward -	501,950	1,321,112	1,297	506	24,357	3,716	1,789,283
Fourth Ward -	261,200	975,930	348	166	9,524	1,30	1,304,530
Fifth Ward -	692,850	760,907	1,393	66	43,195	495	1,587,273
Sixth Ward -	352,300	995,525	1,455	638	26,054	3,815	1,458,557
Seventh Ward -	611,811	468,657	515	176	12,660	1,836	1,151,260
Eighth Ward -	180,200	205,821	412	120	10,490	100	511,250
	\$3,755,711	\$6,166,071	6,723	1,890	\$163,010	\$13,219	\$10,083,904

Statement continued.

Name of Ward or District producing Articles to the Annual Value of \$500.	Capital invested in Manufacturing.	Value Raw Material used, including Fuel.	Average number of hands employed.		Wages.		Values of Annual Produce.
			Male.	Female.	Aver. monthly cost of male labour.	Aver. monthly cost of female labour.	
SOUTHWARK.							
First Ward - -	\$108,050	\$324,669	261	39	\$6,863	\$326	\$506,730
Second Ward - -	386,550	385,068	385	12	11,669	120	639,960
Third Ward - -	106,650	206,520	197	39	5,177	358	326,636
Fourth Ward - -	39,135	129,039	175	47	4,206	190	213,319
Fifth Ward - -	1,143,360	811,018	481	11	16,476	130	1,348,613
Sixth Ward - -	387,320	341,033	587	19	15,630	220	699,472
	\$2,171,065	\$2,197,317	2,089	167	\$60,021	\$1,344	\$3,734,730
MOYAMENSING.							
First Ward - -	\$28,150	\$82,655	74	1	\$1,835	\$120	\$122,815
Second Ward - -	12,050	27,919	42	42	877	504	55,495
Third Ward - -	121,464	183,919	393	202	5,564	1,885	318,170
Fourth Ward - -	117,700	104,229	139	22	2,703	210	154,773
Fifth Ward - -	251,000	176,515	1,329	21	35,889	153	647,948
	\$530,364	\$575,237	1,977	288	\$46,868	\$2,872	\$1,299,201
Passyunk - -	\$4,100	\$4,199	20	1	\$528	\$10	\$19,800
Kingessing - -	48,400	47,257	74	13	1,868	194	81,260
West Philadelphia - -	375,650	490,982	400	57	8,768	336	807,530
Blockley - -	181,600	378,424	286	113	5,101	1,035	511,986
Penn District - -	1,980,580	185,366	476	62	9,555	648	370,524
North Penn - -	122,575	105,892	160	48	3,436	625	185,150
Roxborough - -	199,200	285,001	97	17	1,808	196	393,490
Manayunk, one ward	1,285,450	1,147,093	1,114	1,092	20,506	60,254	2,094,279
Germantown - -	212,450	612,750	753	508	14,981	3,731	1,068,239
Bristol - -	154,100	279,342	293	229	1,926	1,678	551,225
Unincorporated N. Liberties - -	10,700	62,445	139	—	3,248	—	106,740
Frankford Borough	439,450	770,859	725	105	16,676	989	1,080,248
Oxford - -	151,500	282,400	159	47	3,645	600	391,150
Lower Dublin - -	199,550	484,955	242	16	6,318	239	610,945
Byberry - -	48,750	44,943	34	—	709	—	380,273
Moreland - -	1,175	1,018	5	—	114	—	2,400
Richmond District	1,383,650	670,564	1,238	28	28,124	255	1,164,937
Bridesburg Borough	290,350	120,230	242	—	5,856	—	229,396
Aramingo - -	105,500	62,878	136	41	2,635	606	135,136
Whitehall - -	42,650	24,135	112	—	2,460	—	52,600
	\$7,237,380	\$6,090,733	6,705	2,377	\$138,265	\$71,396	\$10,237,308

Dwellings in Philadelphia and New York.

From the returns of the United States census of 1850, it is ascertained that the number of dwellings in Philadelphia exceed the number of dwellings in New York twenty-three thousand four hundred and seventy-two ! Philadelphia, therefore, covers a much larger surface of ground than New York, while the latter city contains the larger and denser population. In Philadelphia, the average number of persons to each dwelling is $6\frac{66}{100}$. In New York, the average number of persons to each dwelling is $13\frac{66}{100}$. What a contrast in the relative domestic comforts, and consequent domestic happiness of the two places ; and how vividly, too, does this single fact portray the cause of the comparative health of Philadelphia and mortality of New York ?

New Buildings erected in 1850.

Number of new buildings erected in		In the City of Philadelphia	-	680
New York in 1850, from Jan. 1st		Spring Garden	- - -	496
to September 30th—nine months		Northern Liberties	- - -	366
—official	1,912	Kensington	- - -	433
From October 1st to December 31st,		Southwark	- - -	313
three months—estimated at the		Moyamensing	- - -	302
same monthly average as the fore-		Penn district	- - -	399
going	637	Richmond	- - -	187
		West Philadelphia	- - -	150
		Germantown	- - -	151
		Frankford	- - -	60
		Manayunk	- - -	52
		Aramingo	- - -	31
		Bridesburg	- - -	25
		Whitehall	- - -	20
		Suburban districts	- - -	150
Total in New York in 1850	- 2,549	Total in Philadelphia in 1850	- 3,815	
“ “ 1849	- 1,495	“ “ 1849	- 2,585	
“ “ 1848	- 1,191	“ “ 1848	- 2,643	
“ “ in three years	<u>5,235</u>	“ “ in three years	<u>9,043</u>	

Among the probable consequences which would grow out of consolidation, not the least important is the erection of a new county out of parts of Philadelphia, Montgomery and Bucks. If the rural portions of Philadelphia county be incorporated into the city, the people residing there will petition to have the awkward connection sundered on the first fitting opportunity. And if the corporate bounds fixed in the bill of last session be adopted, then, and in that event, the rural portions would be left to constitute in themselves the "County of Philadelphia" for representative purposes. With the broad proportions of the fair county thus narrowed down and curtailed, the question of the erection of a new county would inevitably arise, and the people naturally look for an ally to their nearest rural neighbors. Once started and urged with zeal, so many influences would unite in the movement, and so many justifying circumstances be pressed in its behalf, that it might be impossible for its opponents long to delay its consummation. This is no dream, but an idea foreshadowed in the future, as palpable as a butterfly in a sunbeam, and to be realized, or not, hereafter, as the issue may result adverse or favorable to consolidation. The very thought of the dismemberment of Philadelphia county awakens sad and painful forebodings, while the act itself would fill many hearts with deepest sorrow, and inflict on the best interests of the metropolis irreparable wrongs. The spirit of secession once aroused, the end would be some of the evils of practical local disunion in our own county, accomplished, however, in a legal way. Philadelphia, shorn of the three large and prosperous boroughs of Germantown, Manayunk and Frankford, and the villages and townships stretching far out beyond them, who can calculate the untoward measures which might follow in the wake of the new county, each tending to lessen her greatness and render her destiny less propitious.

To those who urge the union of the city and county into one municipality, on the sole ground that, in their opinion, there are now too many separate corporations, a plan might be submitted, to meet this view of the case, without any sacrifice of the principle contended for in this report. It would be no concession to the doctrine of centralization to reduce the eight municipalities to three, but it would be an utter surrender to it to reduce them to one. By the organization of three cities, ranged side by side, and reaching from river to river, the principle of municipal independence

would be saved to keep alive a generous spirit of emulation and watchfulness between the neighbor cities, and thus reduce the expenses of government to the lowest point consistent with the public interests. Competition begets prudence, foresight, and economy; whereas, the absence of competition begets extravagance, waste, and folly. This is true alike of individuals and corporations, and is exemplified in the difference between the annual cost of government in the cities of New York and Philadelphia.

It is proposed, then, if change must be made, to unite the districts north of the city and east of the Schuylkill river, into one body corporate, by the name of "The city of North Philadelphia;" and the districts south of the city and east of the river Schuylkill into one body corporate, by the name of "The city of South Philadelphia." If any good can result from municipal combination, this plan would effect it; while, on the other hand, it would be a certain barrier to the bad consequences of absolute consolidation.

It would reserve to the city of Philadelphia its own distinct history, from the day of its baptism by its founder, through the trials of the province, through the glory and perils of the revolution, and down through the years of her greatness and prosperity, enriched with legends, associations, and events, hallowed by circumstance and time.

It would preserve to the districts of the north the benefits of their important industrial interests, and enable them to build up a great city.

And it would cement together the districts on the south in a bond of fraternal concord, and give them a permanent municipal organization.

This arrangement would make a more harmonious union than to unite, or attempt to unite, all into one by an arbitrary legislative enactment. For even if consolidated and made one city, there would at once spring up in the new corporation a struggle and conflict between the northern and southern wings, each pressing its own special improvements, and contriving for the larger share of the common funds. Meanwhile, the central, or that part already improved, paved, lighted, and regulated, would vote appropriations grudgingly to the borders. There would be no cordiality or fraternity of feeling between these rival influences. Look over the surface of the proposed new city. See the parts densely peopled, the portions sparsely settled, and the thousands of acres of farm land which it is intended to cover with the panoply of a city's charter! Trace on the map the lines of the townships, dotted here and there with boroughs and villages miles apart from each other, and miles distant from the vanguard of the metropolis, and ask yourself what good reason can be assigned why these dissimilar and remote interests should be heaped together and subjected to the rigor of corporation laws. Take, for instance, the twenty-first ward, as described in the bill, which comprises about forty square miles of territory in agricultural use, the north line of which is fifteen miles from town, and what chance would its single representative have in a select council of twenty-one members? This ward alone is twenty times larger in area than the city of Philadelphia when laid out by William Penn. As far back in the past as the year 1741, when the city of Philadelphia contained but 1621 taxable inhabitants, its two square miles of territory was divided into ten wards, but now it is attempted to crowd forty square miles into one ward!

Next in the number of square miles to the twenty first ward is the twentieth ward, and next to the twentieth is the nineteenth ward. These three wards embrace the whole of that wide range of land, beginning on the river Delaware below the mouth of the Schuylkill, thence along the boundary line of Delaware, Montgomery, and Bucks counties, to the Delaware river again, about twelve miles above the city. The citizen can journey along the waters of the Poquesink, ramble down the valley of the Wissahickon, and explore the broad meadows of Kingsessing—he can visit the boroughs of West Philadelphia, Manayunk, Germantown, Frankford, and Whitehall,—the villages of Tacony, Holmesburg, Bustleton, and Smithfield, and still keep within the bounds of these three wards!

In the city the tide of population having spread from river to river, and flowed north and south over the corporate lines, there are no longer any suburbs to fill up. The district of the Northern Liberties is also without suburbs, for its entire area is

populated, improved, regulated, lighted, and paved. Spring Garden, Kensington, and Southwark, have each their respective suburbs, comprising a number of acres, subdivided into building lots, and though but sparsely inhabited, are nevertheless rapidly improving and augmenting in population from year to year. The district of Moyamensing on the south, and the districts of Penn and Richmond on the north, each have suburbs embracing large tracts of land, which stretch out to the rural districts, and meet the agriculturist amid his orchards and fields.

Does the earth anywhere contain, in the same bounds, a greater contrariety of interests, opinions, and feelings, than have grown up and strengthened with the progress of Philadelphia? Is it to be supposed that these various interests and associations, which have been fostered and promoted by custom and law from the birth of the province, can be legislated out of existence, or be reconciled, united, and fused into one harmonious whole, by erecting over them all the corporate dragon of consolidation?

Area and Population of the proposed three Cities :

					Acres.	Population.
City of Philadelphia	-	-	-	-	1,402½	121,417
“ north Philadelphia	-	-	-	-	5,019	167,673
“ south “	-	-	-	-	1,994½	65,778

The city of north Philadelphia to comprise the districts of the Northern Liberties, Spring Garden, Kensington, Penn, and Richmond, and the city of South Philadelphia to comprise the districts of Southwark and Moyamensing. Under this arrangement “the city of Philadelphia,” as named in the constitution, and constituted by that instrument a separate representative district, would continue without enlargement, and the cities of north and south Philadelphia would continue as at present a portion of the county representative district. The boroughs and rural districts to remain without any alteration, in accordance with the wishes of the citizens, as indicated in the many remonstrances against consolidation presented to this Legislature.

The territory west of the river Schuylkill, if agreeable to the citizens residing upon it, might from time to time be annexed to the city of south Philadelphia, or if they should prefer it, the north and south lines of the city (Vine and Cedar streets) could be extended west in a strait line over the county. This would dispose of the region west of the Schuylkill in such manner, that a portion of it might be annexed to each of the three cities. If, however, the occupants of that beautiful and flourishing section of the county should reject all these propositions, they could build up a fourth municipality, and name it the city of West Philadelphia, which, all things considered, would perhaps best promote the prosperity of the place.

These are matters, however, to be determined hereafter; and they are only mentioned here, incidentally, to draw attention to the fact that material changes may be made in the municipal organization of Philadelphia, without binding her energies and her rights in the fetters of an absolute consolidation.

It is regarded as a singular and striking proof of the want of merit in the subject of consolidation, that whether discussed as an abstract principle or treated as a practical question, it has always failed of success.

By an act passed the 8th of March, 1836, the city of New Orleans was divided into three municipalities. The question of consolidating the three into one was started and canvassed, till the Legislature of Louisiana passed a law leaving the ultimate decision of the matter to a popular vote, which was cast in the early part of the year 1850, when the scheme was voted down. Other instances have since occurred, and were followed by the same consequences.

To come nearer home, it appears from the following act of Assembly, that the authorities of Moyamensing and Passyunk, in our own county, had at one time extended to them an opportunity to annex Moyamensing and Passyunk, or either of them, to the city of Philadelphia. Why was it not done?

“AN ACT relating to the election of township officers in the county of Crawford, and for other purposes; approved March 30, 1836.

“SECTION 6. That the councils of the city of Philadelphia be, and they are hereby authorized, on or before the first day of October next, to extend the corporate limits of said city so as to include the townships of Moyamensing and Passyunk, so soon as the Commissioners of Moyamensing and the supervisors of Passyunk shall agree thereto: *Provided, however,* That such extension shall not take place before three months from and after the passage of this act: *And provided further,* That if the above districts, or either of them, shall consent to such extension, then the councils may enact such ordinances for the good government of said townships as they in their wisdom may determine, and that the citizens of said townships shall have all the rights and privileges which citizens of the city of Philadelphia now have, and said township or townships shall be in all respects the same as though they had been included in the original plan and corporation of the city of Philadelphia.”

If the districts of Moyamensing and Southwark, or either of them, no longer desire to maintain a separate corporate existence, but prefer to consolidate with the city of Philadelphia, let the application be limited to that specific object. And, on the other hand, so long as the districts on the northern side are happy and prosperous under a municipal code that commands the confidence of the people, let them remain as they are, or, at least, do not force them into an amalgamation hostile to their wishes, their interests, and their inclinations.

A community has discharged its whole municipal duty when it has taken care of itself. Nothing is gained by intermeddling with neighboring communities that are content and ask to be let alone. “Government exists by the consent of the governed.” When, therefore, the governed become dissatisfied and demand change, they have the power to compel it. So, likewise, if the governed are suited and opposed to change, they should have the power to prevent it. “All political power is inherent in the people.”

A reasoning being can tolerate a difference of opinion without taking or giving offence. No individual has a right to arrogate more to himself than may be claimed by his fellow. The same deference must be extended that is exacted. It is on this principle that society is linked together, and a cordiality of friendship established among persons of dissimilar habits, tastes, and dispositions, as well as opposite occupations, creeds, parties, and professions. May a liberal share of this feeling be exercised on both sides in the case under consideration.

The question of consolidation now to be disposed of, was started in 1844—a year made memorable in Philadelphia annals by the terrible riots of May and July.

On the 11th of November, 1844, the friends of the scheme held a town meeting, at which a committee was appointed to prepare a bill, which was submitted to a meeting held on the 19th of December, where it was approved and ordered to be forwarded to the Legislature.

The title and two of the most important sections of the bill are here given :

“AN ACT to consolidate and unite the several Municipal Corporations within the County of Philadelphia into one Corporation, to be styled ‘The City of Philadelphia,’ and to provide for the government thereof.

“SEC. 1. *Be it enacted, &c.* That the territory comprised within the following boundaries, viz: Beginning on the river Delaware at the north line of McKean street, as surveyed and laid out in the township of Moyamensing; thence continuing west along the said north line of McKean street to the west line of Broad street; thence north along the said west line of Broad street to the south line of Federal street; thence west along the south line of Federal street to the river Schuylkill; thence northwardly along the several courses of the river Schuylkill to the north line of Columbia Avenue, as surveyed and laid out in the District of Penn; thence east along the said north line of Columbia Avenue to the west line of Broad street; thence north

along the said west line of Broad street to the north boundary line of the District of Penn; thence east along said north boundary line to the centre of the Philadelphia and Germantown Turnpike Road; thence in a direct line to the west end of the north boundary line of the District of Kensington; thence eastwardly along the several courses of the said north boundary line of the District of Kensington to the river Delaware; thence southwardly along the said river Delaware, including that portion of it that is within the jurisdiction of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, to the place of beginning; and the inhabitants residing within the same are hereby constituted one municipal corporation and body politic, in fact and in law, under the name and style of 'The City of Philadelphia.'"

* * * * *

"SEC. 35. The act of Assembly of the 14th April, 1843, entitled 'An Act to fix the number of Senators and Representatives,' &c., shall be so altered and amended that from and after the third Friday in March, 1845, the city of Philadelphia shall compose the First Senatorial District, and elect four members of the Senate; and the county of Philadelphia shall compose the Second Senatorial District, and elect one member. In the First District two Senators shall be chosen at the general election in the year 1845, and two at the general election in the year 1847. In the Second District, one Senator shall be chosen at the general election in the year 1846; and, from and after the day aforesaid, the city of Philadelphia shall be entitled to ten members of the House of Representatives, and the county of Philadelphia to three."

The provisions of this bill, which provided for an entire political consolidation of the city and districts, did not command the confidence and support of the people, and, therefore, it was permitted to slumber in the Legislature.

On the evening of Friday, November 17, 1849, a town meeting friendly to consolidation was held in the county Court House. Among the resolutions passed on the occasion, was one authorizing the President to appoint a "General Executive Committee," of twenty-four persons, "whose duty it shall be to adopt and pursue all necessary means and measures to carry into effect the objects of this meeting."

On the 7th of January, 1850, Mr. Savery read in his place in the Senate, a bill entitled "An Act to incorporate the city of Philadelphia with enlarged boundaries."

A copy of the same bill was read in place in the House of Representatives. In the House the bill was reported from the Select Committee on the subject, with a negative recommendation, on the 1st of February, and in the Senate, it was reported from the Select Committee on the subject, with a negative recommendation, on the 22d day of March.

In Senate, April 13th, 1850, the Speaker presented the memorial of the Executive Committee appointed at the town meeting held November 17th, 1849, praying that said city and districts might be consolidated into one municipal corporation. This memorial contained all the arguments urged in favor of consolidation by its friends. It refers to Philadelphia as a municipal anomaly with the example of New York before us, and wonders that it should be "suffered to exist;" it asserts that "the proposition contained in the bill on the files of both Houses is simple, and its details have been worked out with care;" it pronounces the consolidation of the municipal debts "a just as well as a wise measure;" its strong point, however, then so warmly pressed, can no longer be used, because under the new union police, all is accomplished that consolidation could accomplish; here it is:

"The greatest advantage, however, for the immediate peace and quiet of our fellow-citizens, which is to flow from this corporate unity, is a united and efficient police department, exercising its powers over the whole of the area of the new city, in preventing crimes, detecting the offenders, repressing riots and disorder, and acting under one head, and amenable to one corporate body representing the whole of the citizens, whose safety is placed under their charge."

The new union police under which Philadelphia has become the most orderly and best-regulated city in the United States, does act "under one head," the marshal

elected by the people, and is amenable "to one body," the police board, which enacts the police regulations, and in which the city and districts have all a representation.

The last reason given in the memorial is certainly a curious one, when it is remembered that, among the signers, are the names of persons whose opposition to the Central Railroad, is notorious wherever they are known!

"It is the direct interests of the citizens of the city of Philadelphia, that this bill should become a law. Her debt has increased with fearful rapidity; and, with the additional calls which must hereafter be made upon her for the Central Railroad, will soon outrun even the nominal value of her property. The exhibit of her finances in the preceding part of this memorial, and her inability to make new loans at par with her increasing taxation, are ample proofs of the truth of this assertion."

The following are the names attached to the memorial:

"ELI K. PRICE, *Chairman pro tem.*

EDWARD A. PENNIMAN, *Secretary.*

William A. Porter,	Henry M. Watts,	Josiah Randall,
Thomas S. Smith,	J. M. Coleman,	Andrew Miller,
E. A. Penniman,	Charles L. Ingram,	J. F. Hoeckley,
G. G. Westcott,	J. M. Kennedy,	John H. Dohnert,
Hugh Clark,	James A. Campbell,	Eli K. Price,
H. L. Benuer,	Geo. W. Tyron,	Henry D. Gilpin,
John M. Ogden,	P. Williamson,	William White,
Garriek Mallery,	L. Shuster,	William L. Hirst."
Theodore Cuyler,	John Swift,	
J. Cadwallader,	John M. Read,	

Extracts from the bill entitled "An Act to incorporate the city of Philadelphia with enlarged boundaries," referred to by the executive committee.

"SECTION 1. *Be it enacted, &c.* That all that portion of the county of Philadelphia comprised within the following boundaries, to wit: beginning on the easterly side of the river Schuylkill on the boundary line between the townships of Roxborough and Penn, thence along the said line to the borough of Germantown, thence along the line dividing said borough from Penn township, and the line dividing the townships of Bristol and the Northern Liberties, to the Wingohocking creek, then down the same and Frankford creek to the river Delaware, thence down the said river including so much thereof, and the islands therein, as are within the jurisdiction of Pennsylvania, to its westerly junction with the river Schuylkill, thence up the Schuylkill, along its several courses to French creek, thence up the middle of the said creek to the Darby road, thence a north-westerly course at right angles to the said road three hundred feet from its westerly side, thence a north-easterly course parallel to the said road, to the middle of Mill creek, thence up the same and the east branch thereof to its intersection with the north-western boundary of Blockley township, thence along the said boundary to the river Schuylkill, and thence down the same to the place of beginning, and the inhabitants residing within the same, and their successors are hereby constituted a municipal corporation and body politic in fact and in law, under the name and style of the city of Philadelphia."

* * * * *

"SECTION 21. The act of Assembly of the 14th April, 1843, entitled 'An Act to fix the number of Senators and Representatives' et cetera, shall be so altered and amended, that from and after the third Friday in March, 1850, the city of Philadelphia shall compose the first senatorial district, and elect four members of the Senate, and the county of Philadelphia shall compose the second senatorial district, and elect one member; in the first district two senators shall be chosen at the general election in the year 1851, and two at the general election in the year 1853; in the second district one Senator shall be chosen at the general election in the year 1852; and from and after the day aforesaid, the city of Philadelphia shall be entitled to eleven members of the House of Representatives, and the county of Philadelphia to two."

The petitions presented in favor of this bill were all, or more than nineteen-twentieths of them, from citizens residing south of Vine street. While, however, the Legislature was unwilling to impose on all the districts the burden of a grand central government, on the petition of a minority of the districts to be affected, a law was passed creating in the city and districts one uniform police establishment, which in its well-tried, practical operation, is more simple, republican, and efficient, than any force that could grow out of the plan of consolidation. While this police scheme was pending in the Legislature, the friends of consolidation, regarding it as a dangerous rival, not only denounced it, but sought, by divers misrepresentations, to prevent its passage into a law. Happily, however, it became a law, and more happily still, it has abundantly succeeded, despite the manifold predictions to the contrary. True, like all new schemes, it may not be as perfect as its friends could wish, or as this Legislature may decide to make it; but that is a matter affecting only the details—the *principle* of the new system has withstood the test of severest trial, and the public are honoring it with their confidence and support.

The fact, though, that the laws regulating the uniform police are not regarded as perfect in all respects by the advocates of the system, need excite no surprise among the friends of consolidation, for each time that the bill providing for that object has made its bow to the Legislature, it has in some particulars assumed a new and different form.

The proclamation of the police marshal, announcing the complete organization of the new police force, was issued on the 21st of November, 1850.

The force comprises one marshal, eleven lieutenants, and one hundred and sixty-five men, whose aggregate salaries amount to	-		\$76,030 00
Add for board of police and contingencies (probably)	-	-	20,000 00
Total cost for one year	-	-	<u>\$96,030 00</u>
Estimated cost of police and watchmen in the city and districts, exclusive of the marshal's force, not exceeding	-	-	<u>150,000 00</u>
Total cost of Philadelphia police and watch	-	-	<u>\$246,030 00</u>

The number of arrests made by the union police under the marshal, to February 25th, 1851, was two thousand six hundred and eighteen. Of these, one thousand three hundred and nineteen were for breaches of the peace; one hundred and eighty-nine for assault and battery; fifteen for assault and battery with intent to kill; one hundred and thirty-seven for riot; one hundred and seventy-one for larceny; twenty-one for burglary; eight for murder; nineteen for assaulting officers; thirty-eight for gambling; two hundred and thirty-eight for intoxication, &c., &c.

In addition to the above, a number of persons were arrested for trivial offences, and discharged with a reprimand by the marshal and his lieutenants. Number of arrests made by police and watchmen, not of the marshal's force, not known.

By a resolution passed at a meeting of the friends of consolidation, held Monday, September 16th, 1850, the "Executive Committee" appointed at a town meeting, held November 16th, 1849, were continued with instructions to adopt and pursue all necessary measures to carry out the views of the meeting.

The consolidation bill of the present session, like its predecessor of last session, emanated from that committee. And although the bill referred to your committee, differs in some respects materially from the bill of last session, the Executive Committee aforesaid, have not communicated the causes which operated upon them to make the change.

The bill as read in place the last time, and as printed for distribution by the Executive Committee, enacts "that the county of Philadelphia as the same is bounded by existing laws, and the inhabitants residing within the same, and their successors, are hereby constituted a municipal corporation and body politic, in fact and in law, under

the name and style of "the city of Philadelphia." In a word, the bill included the whole county, and stipulated that it should become a law without submitting its provisions to the test of a popular vote.

The undersigned, thus far, has confined his objections to the municipal character of the bill—to the centralizing municipal code which consolidation would establish, instead of the existing independent municipal system. But there is one other objection, which, if none else existed, would still make him oppose consolidation into one city, and that is the matter of Legislative representation.

The second section of the first article of the constitution is in these words:

"The representatives shall be chosen annually by the citizens of the city of Philadelphia, and of each county, respectively on the second Tuesday in October."

Extract from section IV. "The number of representatives shall be fixed by the Legislature, and apportioned among the *city of Philadelphia and the several counties, according to the number of taxable inhabitants in each.*"

Section VII. "The Senators shall be chosen in districts, to be formed by the Legislature; but no district shall be so formed as to entitle it to elect more than two Senators, unless the number of taxable inhabitants in any city or county shall, at any time, be such as to entitle it to elect more than two, *but no city or county shall be entitled to elect more than four Senators*; when a district shall be composed of two or more counties, they shall be adjoining; *neither the city of Philadelphia nor any county, shall be divided in forming a district.*"

The words of the constitution are that the number of representatives shall be "apportioned among the city of Philadelphia and the several counties, according to the number of taxable inhabitants in each."

If, therefore, the city of Philadelphia is enlarged, the number of its taxable inhabitants will be increased; and if the number of its taxable inhabitants are increased, so also must the number of its representatives be increased; for the constitution expressly declares that the number of representatives shall be apportioned "according to the number of taxable inhabitants." The territory now comprising the county, if consolidation prevail, will be made as much a part of the city as the territory now within the city bounds; for it is provided in the first section of the bill, "that the county of Philadelphia, as the same is bounded by existing laws, and the inhabitants residing within the same, and their successors, are hereby constituted a municipal corporation and body politic, in fact and in law, under the name and style of 'the city of Philadelphia.'"

Of the ratio of representation in the Senate, it is explicitly asserted in the constitution, that "no city or county shall be entitled to elect more than four Senators," and and that "neither the city of Philadelphia nor any county, shall be divided in forming a district."

Taxation without representation was the immediate cause of the American revolution; yet here is a proposition to disfranchise Philadelphia, which is already more heavily taxed than any other portion of the State, by literally depriving her of one-fifth of her senatorial representation. There can be no two opinions on this point; for the avowal is brief and positive, that "neither the city of Philadelphia nor any county, shall be divided in forming a district," and that "no city or county shall be entitled to elect more than four Senators."

In the case of the consolidation bills of 1844 and 1850, the drafting committees manifestly took this view of the subject; for we find that they shaped those bills to accord with the emphatic language of the constitution in this respect. And when the Executive Committee in 1851, not only divided the city, but even the wards of the city, for representative purposes, they entirely overlooked the duty that devolved on them, to favor the public with the reasons on which their change of opinion and of policy since last year is grounded. This is a matter of serious moment, for every member of the Legislature swears or affirms, that he "will support the constitution of the State," and is, therefore, bound by a sacred and solemn obligation to adhere to, and be guided by, the provisions of that constitution.

In the Senate of Pennsylvania, on the 19th day of January, 1850, Mr. Walker from the Judiciary Committee made a report, that under the constitution, the State

could not be divided into separate representative districts. The reasons that influenced the committee in coming to this conclusion, can be found on page 111, Senate Journal, Session of 1850. The following is an extract of the report :

"In the seventh section of the same article, speaking of senatorial districts, we find these words : "neither the city of Philadelphia nor any county, *shall be divided in forming a district.*"

"This is a strong and conclusive argument in the opinion of the committee, in favor of the position assumed by them. It shows that the framers of the constitution intended to guard *against the division of the city* or counties in the formation of districts. It was not necessary to insert a similar provision in relation to representatives, because they make the taxables of "*each,*" "*separate,*" "*respective*" county, the constituency of the representatives. There is no such language used in the formation of senatorial districts ; but they guard *against the division of the city or of any county*, in forming the senatorial districts. Thus, by analogy, establishing the principle contended for by your committee.

"The view taken by the committee concedes the position, that more than one county may be connected in forming a representative district ; but it denies the power to divide a county or countries in forming such district. In no one instance, as far as your committee is informed, has a county, in the formation of a representative district, been divided. This unbroken, practical exposition of the constitution, firmly establishes the committee in the position assumed."

The Judiciary Committee were Messrs. Farris B. Streeter, John H. Walker, Augustus Drum, Alexander King, and Henry A. Muhlenberg.

The city of New York is divided into four Senatorial and sixteen Representative districts. Each of the four districts elects one Senator, and each of the sixteen districts one member of Assembly.

If it were in the power of this Legislature to establish in Pennsylvania the single district system, as it exists throughout New York, for the election of Representatives, one obstacle in the way of the consolidation of Philadelphia city and county would be removed. But, as has been shown, the Constitution of Pennsylvania positively inhibits the division of any city or county in the formation of a representative district. Therefore, the Constitution must be first altered and amended before Philadelphia can be districted after the manner of New York. And as the Constitution provides "that no amendment or amendments shall be submitted to the people oftener than once in five years," contingencies, now unknown, might rise up meanwhile, and render abortive every effort to bring such amendment about.

It cannot be disguised, that the wonderful increase of Philadelphia in population, and the consequent increase of her representation under each apportionment, has awakened, in the interior portions of the State, a lively apprehension lest she may ultimately acquire an overshadowing influence in the Legislature. At the last session, when the amendment to the Constitution making the judges elective, was pending in the Senate, a motion was made to instruct the Judiciary Committee "to prepare and report a clause to be engrafted in the Constitution, fixing fifteen to be the highest number of Representatives from any one county, *or city and county*, with a corresponding number of Senators."—Senate Journal, Session of 1850, page 79.

The county of Philadelphia has on this floor three Senators. It is the rule with all political parties in that county, in the nominating conventions, to apportion one Senator to the First Congressional District, one Senator to the Third Congressional District, and one Senator to the Fourth Congressional District. Hence, while each one is the representative, in part, of the whole county, for it takes the vote of the whole county to elect, each one is at the same time, by usage, the more immediate representative of the district in which he may reside.

This is a wise regulation, inasmuch as it gives to each section a fair and equal representation ; and, on local questions of magnitude and importance, where, as on the question of consolidation, a diversity of opinion may exist, the tone of public sentiment, which may predominate in the respective divisions of the county, may each have an advocate and friend in the Senate.

The birthplace and residence of the undersigned is in the Fourth Congressional District. This District comprises the incorporated districts of Kensington, Richmond, and Penn—three; the boroughs of Germantown, Frankford, West Philadelphia, Manayunk, Aramingo, Bridesburg, and Whitehall—seven; the townships of North Penn, Unincorporated Northern Liberties, Oxford, Lower Dublin, Byberry, Moreland, Bristol, Upper Germantown, Roxborough, Blockley, and Kingessing—eleven. It has a population of 114,125; number of dwellings, 18,151; capital invested in manufactures, \$10,988,991; average number of males employed, 13,408; females, 4,266; average monthly cost of male labor, \$300,747; average monthly cost of female labor, \$84,665; value of annual products, \$20,301,412.

The people of the Fourth District are hostile to consolidation. No public meeting has ever been held within its wide-spread borders in favor of a corporate union with the city and southern districts of Philadelphia; but, on the contrary, every expression of public sentiment, through the medium of resolutions passed by District Commissioners, by Borough Councils, at public meetings held in the rural quarters, and by remonstrances numerous signed—all these have reached the Legislature, and are emphatic in condemnation of consolidation into one city.

Look at the District of Kensington, with its spacious river front, its well-defined boundary, the condition of its improvements, and its manufacturing resources. With her new water-works she will have completed her costlier local improvements, and if left to herself, she can, in a short time, calculate to a certainty on a large revenue, and decreased taxation. The value of her annual products, as shown by the census, exceeded the combined products of Southwark and Moyamensing by more than one hundred per cent.!

The districts of Richmond and Penn, too, from their favorable location, are destined to a future prosperity equal to their past increase, and which, in a few years, will cover their territory with the tide of population now flowing in upon them from the older districts. The boroughs being, some of them, miles distant from the incorporated portion of Philadelphia, it could not happen otherwise, but that by being made a part of one central government, they would experience much injury and inconvenience in their local affairs. As there exists no good reason why farm land, especially when measured by thousands of acres, should be included in the corporate bounds of a city, but many reasons why it should not be so included, of a nature so palpable, that they must suggest themselves to every thinking mind, it is not strange that the farmers should object to the incorporation of their lands in the scheme of consolidation? It would be succeeded by increased taxation, and neglect to keep in repair the roads and bridges, without the slightest corresponding advantages. One marked and commendable feature in the Philadelphia code is the policy which has provided a cheap and full supply of wholesome water. No tax is so cheerfully paid as the water rent, because the payer receives *value* for his money. And at the same time that the several water works furnish this indispensable convenience and necessary of life at a low rate, the quantity used is so great that a large revenue is realized from this source over the expenses necessarily incurred in keeping them in successful working order.

The Fairmount water works are owned by the city, and supply the city and districts of Southwark and Moyamensing. The gross water rents from these works in 1850, was \$123,000 00. The Northern Liberties and Spring Garden water works, are the joint property of those two districts, and in 1850 they supplied the districts of the Northern Liberties, Spring Garden, Kensington, and Penn. Permanent cost of the works, \$301,168 99. Revenue from water rents for 1850, \$87,526 00, from which is to be deducted, fuel for engines, and salaries of engineers, and pay of workmen. The district of Kensington has also nearly completed the construction of water works, to be supplied from the river Delaware. These latter works, when finished, are intended to supply the districts of Kensington and Richmond, and will ultimately prove, like the others, a source of profit to their owner.

The city of London is supplied with water by ten stock companies, who annually divide large dividends among the individual stockholders, whereas, in Philadelphia, the profits go to swell the coffers of the municipal corporations.

In the bill of consolidation, the Mayor of the new city is given power to appoint the police officers, policemen, and watchmen, and discharge the same at pleasure. This would give the entire police force to one political party, and create, at the outset, a standing army of electioneering politicians. Indeed, the patronage of one central government for the city and county, or for the city as it would then become, would be so immense, that each year would witness an exciting election to secure the various offices, and inflict on the tax payers a far more costly government than the one now in force.

At a stated meeting of the Board of Commissioners of the district of Kensington, in the county of Philadelphia, held January 7th, 1851, the following Preamble and Resolutions were unanimously adopted, to wit:

"Whereas, it is manifest to the board, that efforts are now being made to importune the Legislature of Pennsylvania to enlarge the boundaries of the city of Philadelphia, so as to include the territory and inhabitants of Kensington, and thus extinguish and annul the corporate rights and privileges guaranteed by its charter, derived from the Commonwealth; and

Whereas, experience has demonstrated, that the financial affairs of large corporations, whether private or public, are not so economically administered as small ones, therefore this district has nothing of a beneficial character to expect by a union of any kind, or for any purpose whatever, with other districts, and especially as the police force recently established by authority of the Legislature, has from its efficiency, accomplished all that the friends of order and good government could have reasonably desired; therefore

1. *Resolved*, That we the Commissioners of the district of Kensington, in the county of Philadelphia, do solemnly protest against the passage of any bill, that has for its object the union of Kensington with the city of Philadelphia, for municipal or other purposes.

"2. *Resolved*, That the district of Kensington having prospered in a system of improvements suited to the people, and adapted to the business facilities of the place, would deem it unjust and improper for the Legislature to annul its corporate rights, or destroy its corporate existence, especially in defiance of the will of its own citizens.

"3. *Resolved*, That the district of Kensington is competent to prescribe her own local regulations, to make her own improvements, pay her own debts, and also to protect the rights of her own citizens, and preserve peace within her own borders, under the existing laws of the Commonwealth.

"4. *Resolved*, That under existing circumstances, we look upon the proposed measure of the consolidation of the city and county of Philadelphia, into one gigantic and costly corporation, not in the light of reform, but as a speculation in town lots and corporation bonds, and we do not believe, that, if consummated, the promises of its friends, or any of them, would be realized; but, on the contrary, that it would inevitably entail increased taxation, and foster a spirit of lavish expenditure of the public money.

"5. *Resolved*, That while we are proud of New York, as an American city, we can discover nothing in its municipal system, either on the score of efficiency or economy, to lead us to adopt it, in preference to the existing municipal system of Philadelphia, which it is proposed by some to change for a worse one.

"6. *Resolved*, That copies of the foregoing Preamble and Resolutions be transmitted to the Senate and House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, signed by the president, attested by the clerk, and sealed with the Corporate Seal."

On the 3d of February, 1851, the citizens of Oxford, Lower Dublin, Byberry, and Moreland, held a large and enthusiastic meeting, at Bustleton, to express their views relative to a bill before the Legislature, to incorporate the whole of the city and county into one municipal district, to be called the city of Philadelphia.

The following resolutions were unanimously adopted:

"Whereas, A bill is now before the Legislature of this Commonwealth, for consolidating the city and county into one municipal body, therefore

Resolved, That we, the citizens of the rural districts of the county of Philadelphia, are opposed to the passage of an act consolidating the city and county into one municipal body, particularly so far as it relates to the contemplated 21st ward; because the present bill proposes to encumber us with a heavy debt which now belongs to the city and incorporated districts, and which we never contracted, nor have we derived any benefit from; because the interests of a largely-populated city are diametrically opposite to those of a rural district, and must affect the interests of the latter injuriously; and farther, because our taxes will be increased by the proposed bill from 50 to 75 per cent.

Resolved, That a committee be appointed to prepare for circulation and signature, to present to the Legislature, a remonstrance against any act of consolidation affecting the rural districts."

"At a large and respectable meeting of the citizens of the Township of Bloekley, in the County of Philadelphia, held on Thursday, February 13th, 1851, for the purpose of taking into consideration the subject of the proposed consolidation of the City and County of Philadelphia into one corporation, the following was duly considered and unanimously adopted:—

"Whereas, a bill has been introduced into the Legislature of this Commonwealth for consolidating the City and County of Philadelphia into one municipal corporation, which, should it pass so as to include the rural districts of the county, will not only largely increase our taxes, but will interfere with our social comforts and general prosperity.

"And whereas, The system of consolidation prevails in New York; and although the territory included in the county of New York is not more than one-half the size of the city and county of Philadelphia, the difference of taxation between New York and our city and county, as at present organized, gives almost certain evidence that our taxes will be increased at least 75 per cent.

"And whereas, By the provisions of the bill, the borough of West Philadelphia and townships of Bloekley and Kingessing are embraced in one ward, under the control of, and represented by four persons in the city councils, with one supervisor of highways under the direction of said council, which would utterly annihilate the rural districts for all practical purposes of local government, in which the people can have no voice, and our property encumbered with, and subject to the payment of a large debt now existing in the city and districts that we never contracted, and by which we have never received the slightest benefit, Therefore,

Resolved, That in the opinion of this meeting, the bill now before the Legislature to consolidate the city and county into one municipal corporation, would unjustly impose the payment of a heavy debt on the already over-taxed citizens of the rural portion of the county, in addition to the necessarily increased taxes of an unwieldy municipal district, and therefore ought not to be enacted into a law."

"At a meeting of the Commissioners of the Borough of Bridesburg, held on the evening of February 5th, the following preamble and resolutions against consolidating the City and County of Philadelphia, were adopted:—

"Whereas, A bill is now before the Legislature of Pennsylvania, having for its object the consolidation of Philadelphia county into one municipal body, and thereby destroying or abolishing the Act of Incorporation of the Borough of Bridesburg; be it

Resolved, That we are opposed to the passage of such an act for the following reasons, viz.:

"First, We are perfectly satisfied with the capacity of our citizens to manage our own municipal affairs.

"Second, The act incorporating the Borough of Bridesburg, gives to her authorities and inhabitants perpetual succession, as one body politic and corporate, forever; and the passage of any act annulling the same will be unjust, and contrary to the spirit and letter of the constitution.

"Third, The interest of a densely-populated city are opposite to those of a rural district or borough, and must injuriously affect the interests of the latter.

"Fourth, We would seldom (if ever) have a representation in either branch of council, and thereby shut out from the right to spend our own money, or make our own improvements, but would be in the power of those who have no interest in common with us."

The town councils of the boroughs of Manayunk and Frankford passed resolutions remonstrating against the consolidation of the city and county. The Commissioners of the district of Richmond passed resolutions against consolidation. At a public meeting held by citizens of Aramingo and the Unincorporated Northern Liberties, resolutions opposed to consolidation were unanimously passed.

At a meeting of the town council of the borough of Germantown, held February 26th, 1851, a preamble and series of resolutions were unanimously passed, opposed to the consolidation of the city and county of Philadelphia into one corporation.

In conclusion, the undersigned would submit, that when the corner-stone of the consolidation argument was taken away, the column of reasons based upon it tumbled into pieces. For more than a twelvemonth preceding the organization of the uniform police, the streets of Philadelphia had been used as a gladiatorial arena by the lawless and desperate, and riots and outrages of a most disgraceful and alarming character were of frequent occurrence. Murders were committed with a recklessness that almost approached to impunity; and on several occasions the whole metropolis was aroused by assassinations the most foul and atrocious ever perpetrated by human hands, or recorded in the annals of human crime. A sort of moral panic crept through the public mind; meetings were held, and measures devised to crush the spirit that had overgrown restraint, and bring offenders to justice. In the localities cursed by these scenes, the public guardians were wholly unable to protect life or maintain the peace. Then it was that consolidation was preached with most zeal, and proselytes were made in largest numbers. Then it was that many citizens, grieved and shocked at the sight of wrongs around them, adopted the idea of municipal unity, painted in rainbow hues, and held forth as the only covenant of promise. But all that is gone by. The law is again supreme in all parts of the city and county. Peace is restored, and order is maintained everywhere. All this has been done without a political consolidation, by a system of uniform police in the city and districts. And where is the Philadelphian who does not exult in the restoration of peace, safety, and public order, and the consequent restoration of the city's ancient good name? Driven from their original ground by the success of the new police operations, the advocates of centralization in municipal affairs (the same policy that the old federal party sought to establish in national affairs), now urge their measure on the pretext of its greater economy. This, like the other, is a false issue; for the great city, New York, whose example they so often quote, with much apparent satisfaction, establishes the contrary proposition, and proves that a consolidated government is the most costly and extravagant of any on the face of the earth.

For these reasons, and also because the bill reported by the majority of the Committee contains provisions relating to portions of the county that have not asked for any change or alteration in their district, borough, or township organizations, which portions of the county it is my duty more especially to represent, the undersigned, with all due deference to his colleagues on the Committee, respectfully recommends that the bill be negatived.

THOMAS S. FERNON.